

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-09 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12 T-03

ACDA-19 GAC-01 MBFR-03 NIC-01 SAJ-01 SAL-01 NEA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4757

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 0857

BELGRADE PLEASE PASS ARMITAGE

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PARM RO

SUBJECT: ROMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER' S EXPOSITION ON EUROPEAN
SECURITY PERSPECTIVES

REF: BUCHAREST 832

1. SUMMARY. DURING HOUR LONG MEETING WITH DEP ASST SEC
JOHN ARMITAGE ON MARCH 8, ROMANIAN FOREIGN MIN MACOVESCU
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REVIEWED ROMANIAN CONCEPT OF EUROPEAN SECURITY IN BROAD
CONCEPTUAL TERMS ALTHOUGH HIS PRESENTATION ALSO EMBRACED

SPECIFIC ROMANIAN POSITIONS ON CSCE AND MBFR. GENERAL ROMANIAN POSITION IS KNOWN AND MACOVESCU'S REVIEW ADDS LITTLE THAT IS SPECIFIC. POSTURE RE VIENNA REAFFIRMED THAT ROMANIA WOULD PREFER PLENARY INCLUDING ALL EUROPEAN STATES IN BEGINNING, FOLLOWED BY MANDATES TO SPECIFIC GROUPS IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND LATER ON OTHER AREAS SUCH AS BALKANS TO DISCUSS CONCRETE REDUCTION MEASURES. AT SAME TIME, ROMANIA WILLING TO GO ALONG WITH MAJORITY EVEN WHEN IT BELIEVES THEIR APPROACH LESS PRODUCTIVE. AT CSCE, ROMANIA HOPES TO BEGIN DISCUSSION OF BROAD MILITARY MEASURES NOT ENCOMPASSED AT VIENNA BUT ALL THESE SPECIFIC CONFERENCES NEED TO BE VIEWED AS PART OF BROAD PROCESS OF GRADUALLY SCRAPPING "YALTA SYSTEM" IN FAVOR OF NEW SYSTEM THAT WILL END DIVISION OF EUROPE AND PROVIDE MORE PRODUCTIVE STABILITY. THIS MUST BE DONE WHILE AVOIDING RISKS THAT COULD OCCUR IF EXISTING ALLIANCE SYSTEM ABANDONED TOO HASTILY. OF APRTICULAR INTEREST, MACOVESCU EMPHASIZED THAT US AND CANADA SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN ALL STEPS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY PROCESS, NOT JUST IN CURRENT SPECIFIC NEGOTIATIONS. IT AND USSR WOULD HAVE TO BE FULL PARTICIPANTS IN ANY FUTURE CONFERENCE ON BALKANS AND US WOULD ALSO CLEARLY BE INVOLVED IN ANY FUTURE CONFERENCE ON NORTHERN EIROPE. SINCE CHIEF VALUE OF MACOVESCU'S STATEMENT, IN OUR OPINION, IS FLAVOR IT GIVES OF FUNDAMENTAL ROMANIAN PERSPECTIVE OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT, WE HAVE SOUGHT TO DUPLICATE HIS STATEMENT AS CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE ALTHOUGH THIS MAY CAUSE MESSAGE TO BE LESS CONCISE THAN IT OTHERWISE MIGHT HAVE BEEN. ROMANIAN VIEWS OBVIOUSLY DIFFER FROM OUR OWN IN SOME IMPORTANT RESPECTS BUT IT IS OBVIOUSLY IMPORTANT THROUGH STATEMENTS LIKE MACOVESCU'S TO PERCEIVE ITS CONCEPTUAL BASE AND TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF IT TO DEGREE POSSIBLE (ROMANIA'S DESIRE TO UNDERMINE WARSAW PACT, WHILE CONFLICTING WITH OUR NEED TO MAINTAIN COHESION IN NATO, OBVIOUSLY HAS ITS ADVANTAGES TO US TOO). END SUMMARY.

2. MACOVESCU BEGAN HIS PRESENTATION BY RECALLING HIS EFFORTS TO DISCUSS EUROPEAN SECURITY OVER SOME YEARS BEGINNING IN JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION. UNTIL RECENTLY, MACOVESCU SAID HE HAD FOUND LITTLE STATE DEPARTMENT INTEREST IN DISCUSSING SUBJECT. HE HAD ORIGINALLY ATTRIBUTED THIS LACK OF INTEREST CONFIDENTIAL

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TO US UNWILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS SUBJECT WITH A SMALL POWER BUT HE LATER CAME TO VIEW THAT US HAD SIMPLY NOT BEEN MUCH INTERESTED IN ISSUE ITSELF. SEVERAL YEARS AGO HE HAD ONE HOUR CONVERSATION OSTENSIBLY ON EUROPEAN SECURITY WITH SENIOR STATE OFFICIAL, NOW OUT OF GOVERNMENT, DURING WHICH THIS OFFICIAL SAID ABSOLUTELY NOTHING OF SUBSTANCE. MACOVESCU CONTRASTED THIS EXPERIENCE WITH SIX HOURS OF VERY FRUITFUL DISCUSSION AT STATE DEPARTMENT IN OCTOBER 1972. IT WAS CLEAR THAT US HAD NOW BEGUN TO THINK OF EUROPEAN SECURITY

IN CONCEPTUAL TERMS.

3. IN ROMANIAN VIEW, IDEA OF EUROPEAN SECURITY HAD TO BE SEPARATED FROM CSCE AS LATTER WAS ONLY ONE ASPECT OF LONG-TERM PROCESS FOR CONSTRUCTING EDIFICE OF EUROPEAN SECURITY. AT THIS POINT MACOVESCU PAUSED TO STRESS IN STRONG VOICE THAT " I WANT TO BE VERY CLEAR THAT I MEAN THAT US AND CANADA MUST BE INCLUDED THROUGHOUT THIS PROCESS." WHILE ACHIEVEMENT OF SYSTEM OF EUROPEAN SECURITY IS LONG- TERM PROCESS TO BE REACHED STEP- BY- STEP, IT ULTIMATELY WILL NOT BE ON BLOC- TO- BLOC BASIS. ALREADY THERE ARE SIGNS THAT ENDENCY TO BREAK AWAY FROM A BLOC- TO- BLOC APPROACH HAS BEGUN TO TAKE SHAPE AT HELSINKI, AND THIS ALSO MUST APPLY - WE HOPE - AT VIENNA. BLOC APPROACH HAS NOT YET BEEN ABANDONED, OF COURSE, AND SOMETIMES RELIANCE ON BLOCS EVEN SEEMS TO BE INCREASING IN SOME SHORT TERM SITUATIONS, BUT OVERALL TENDENCY IS FOR THIS BLOC APPROACH TO BE ERODED. IN STATING THIS BELIEF, THERE IS NO INTENTION TO IMPLY THAT ALLIANCES SHOULD BE ABANDONED PREMATURELY. YOU HAVE YOUR ALLIANCE, WE HAVE OURS. WE ARE UNDER NO ILLUSION THAT EITHER WILL BE ABANDONED SOON. IN FACT, IT WOULD NOT BE WISE TO DESTROY CURRENT SECURITY SYSTEM BEFORE WE HAVE BUILT VIABLE ALTERNATIVE. NEW SYSTEM CANNOT BE REGARDED IN TERMS OF A MAGICAL SOLUTION.

4. SINCE ALLIANCES OBJECTIVELY CONTINUE TO EXIST, ROMANIANS PARTICIPATED IN WARSAW PACT CONSULTATION IN MOSCOW ON JANUARY 15 BUT THIS DID NOT MEAN THAT GOR INTENDED TO DO OTHER THAN PRESENT ITS OWN NATIONAL VIEWPOINT AT HELSINKI (AND ALSO PRESUMABLY VIENNA). SOME ROMANIAN VIEWPOINTS COINCIDE, IN FACT, WITH VIEWS OF US, WHICH DOES NOT MEAN THAT US HAS LEFT NATO OR THAT GOR HAS LEFT WARSAW PACT. DISCUSSIONS ON A NON- BLOC BASIS ARE GROWING AND WILL CONTINUE TO GROW.
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5. AS LONG AS THERE IS CONTINUATION OF OLD SYSTEM OF BALANCE THAT HAS EXISTED IN EUROPE SINCE WORLD WAR II AND WHICH WAS BASED ON YALTA, AND TO SOME EXTENT ON POTSDAM, THERE WILL NOT BE REAL SECURITY IN EUROPE. THIS SYSTEM HAS PROVIDED SOME EQUILIBRIUM BASED ON FORCE AND ULTIMATELY ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS. BUT IT IS SYSTEM THAT COULD LEAD TO CATASTROPHE. IT IS SYSTEM THAT LACKS NEEDED SPIRIT OF COOPERATION BETWEEN DIFFERENT SOCIETIES AND DOES NOT PROVIDE REAL SECURITY. AT HELSINKI, EVERYONE ADVOCATES " PRINCIPLES" THAT SOUND NICE BUT ARE NOT REALLY NEW. SAME PRINCIPLES WERE PROPOUNDED FREQUENTLY BWTWEEN TWO WORLD WARS BUT LED TO NOUGHT. IF THESE PRONCIPLES ARE APPLIED ONLY BETWEEN TWO BLOCS AND NOT WITHIN BLOCS, THERE WILL BE NO REAL SECURITY. ROMANIA HOPES THAT THESE MATTERS WILL BE DISCUSSED BWTWEEN US IN HELSINKI AND VIENNA AND ALSO IN BUCHAREST AND WASHINGTON.

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RSR-01 /130 W

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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUCHAREST 0857

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6. TO BE FRANK, THERE HAVE BEEN ASPECTS OF US ATTITUDE AT
HELSINKI AND VIENNA WHICH HAVE SEEMED CONTRARY TO THIS RECENT
TREND OF HISTORY. " I WAS SURPRISED," SAID MACOVESCU, " THAT
US DID NOT UNDERSTAND OUR ORIGINAL PROPOSALS ON MBFR AND I
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COULD SEE NEGATIVE WESTERN ATTITUDE WOULD SOON LEAD TO IMPASSE WHICH, IN FACT, HAS OCCURRED." THE MILITARY COMPONENT IN EUROPEAN SECURITY CANNOT BE IGNORED AND MUST BE APPLIED TO ALL OF EUROPE. WHEN SECRETARY ROGERS WAS HERE IN BUCHAREST LAST SUMMER, HE SAID THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO DISCUSS EUROPEAN SECURITY WITHOUT DISCUSSING MILITARY MATTERS JUST AS ONE COULD NOT DISCUSS BANKS WITHOUT DISCUSSING MONEY. AT HELSINKI, HOWEVER, US HAS SHOWN NO GREAT DESIRE TO DISCUSS MILITARY MATTERS BUT WHEN MILITARY MATTERS AROSE ELSEWHERE (VIENNA), ONLY ONE ASPECT WAS TAKEN UP. ROMANIA HAS AGREED TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER (OF CENTRAL EUROPE) ALTHOUGH IT HAS SMALL MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT AND DOES NOT WANT (FOREIGN) MILITARY FORCES ON ITS TERRITORY. BUT ROMANIA DOES HAVE INTEREST IN WHAT IS HAPPENING AROUND IT.

7. MY PROPOSAL, SAID MACOVESCU, WAS THAT ALL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES SHOULD PARTICIPATE AT BEGINNING DISCUSSIONS. " DISCUSSION" IS NOT IDENTICAL WITH " NEGOTIATION," HOWEVER. PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION BY ALL EUROPEAN STATES WOULD ESTABLISH WHICH STATES WOULD PARTICIPATE IN PRACTICAL NEGOTIATIONS ON CENTRAL EUROPE AND GIVE THEM MANDATE TO CONSIDER IT. SIMILAR MANDATES COULD BE GIVEN TO GROUPS OF INTERESTED STATES FOR OTHER ZONES LIKE BALKANS AND NORTHERN EUROPE.

8. NEGOTIATIONS ON BALKANS WOULD TAKE PLACE AMONG INTERESTED STATES AND WOULD INCLUDE US AND SOVIETS. " I TOLD THIS TO SOVIETS TOO," SAID MACOVESCU, AND INDICATED TO THEM THAT US AS WELL AS SOVIETS WOULD HAVE TO TAKE PART IN DISCUSSIONS ON THE BALKANS. US WOULD ALSO PARTICIPATE IN ANY NEGOTIATIONS ON NORTHERN EUROPE. BUT ALL THESE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD NOT BE SIMULTANEOUS AND ONE WOULD START WITH CENTRAL EUROPE.

9. BESIDES THESE REGIONAL QUESTIONS, THERE ARE OBVIOUSLY OTHER MILITARY QUESTIONS THAT INVOLVE ALL EUROPEAN STATES SUCH AS REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS, OBSERVERS AT MANEUVERS, RENUNCIATION OF MANEUVERS NEAR NATIONAL BORDERS, ETC.. WE FELT THESE BROAD QUESTIONS COULD BEST BE TAKEN UP BY A COMMISSION AT HELSINKI TO APPROACH THESE QUESTIONS. OUR POSITION WAS WORONGLY UNDERSTOOD BY WEST. IF ALL STATES HAD BEEN REPRESENTED AT VIENNA, DEADLOCK WOULD NOT HAVE DEVELOPED.

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1. ROMANIA WILL REAFFIRM ITS POINT OF VIEW ONCE AGAIN AT VIENNA (WHEN PLENARY BEGINS) BUT WE WILL FOLLOW MAJORITY IF THEY DO NOT ACCEPT OUR POSITION. WE REALIZE US HAS GLOBAL INTERESTS AND WE DO NOT. BUT WE CAN OBSERVE TENDENCIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WHICH ARE EVERYWHERE IN DIRECTION OF DISMANTLING BLOCS. PRESENT CONDITIONS REQUIRE ROMANIA TO BELONG TO A BLOC BUT DAYS OF BLOCS ARE NUMBERED EVERYWHERE.

I KNOW WHAT YOUR REACTION WILL BE, THAT YOU DO NOT WISH TO TAKE RISKS. BUT NEITHER DOES ROMANIA; WE ARE NOT ADVENTURERS. WE ARE NOT GOING TO LEAVE PRESENT SYSTEM ALL AT ONCE BUT IT WOULD ALSO BE A GREAT MISTAKE NOT TO ACCOMMODATE TO NEW TRENDS FOR IT IS TIME TO BEGIN BUILDING A NEW SYSTEM. AMERICANS HAVE LARGELY REPLACED DIAL TELEPHONES WITH PUNCH KEY TELEPHONES BUT IT DID NOT SUDDENLY DESTROY ONE SYSTEM AS IT INTRODUCED ANOTHER; WHY CAN' T THESE TECHNIQUES OF PHASING IN NEW SYSTEMS, AT WHICH AMERICANS ARE SO EXPERT IN TECHNICAL AREA, BE APPLIED TO MORE IMPORTANT AREA OF SECURITY PROBLEMS. THE YALTA SYSTEM HAD ITS POSITIVE AS WELL AS ITS NEGATIVE FEATURES BUT IT HAS LEVED ITS LIFE. QUESTION IS ONLY ONE OF HOW GRADUALLY TO MAKE THE SHIFT WITHOUT RUNNING RISKS THAT NEITHER YOU NOR WE DESIRE.

11. IN HIS REPOSE, MR. ARMITAGE NOTED THAT US HAD TO BE CONCERNED WITH INTERESTS AND PREOCCUPATIONS OF ITS ALLIES FOR THEIR SECURITY AS WELL AS US CONCERNS. THERE WAS PROBLEM OF HOW TO DISMANTLE CURRENT SYSTEM CAREFULLY AND END DIVISION OF EUROPE AND THIS WAS DIFFICULT WHERE EXISTING SYSTEM BASED ON COHESION OF ALLIANCE. ACTUALLY, WE FELT CSCE WAS PROCEEDING BETTER THAN MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED THIS FAR (MACOVESCU AGREED). AS FOR VIENNA, OUR POSITION BASED TO GREAT EXTENT ON PAST EXPERIENCE WITH DISARMAMENT MEASURES. WE HAD FOUND PROGRESS DIFFICULT WHEN DISCUSSIONS BOGGED DOWN IN EFFORT TO FORMULATE BROAD PRINCIPLES; PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE BY TAKING CAREFULLY DEFINED AREAS OF CONCERN AN

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